

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 CAPE TOWN 420

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FOR AF/S

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, SF
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S OVERVIEW

REF: STATE 053127

FOLLOWING IS OVERVIEW STATEMENT TO GO ALONG WITH GOALS AND
OBJECTIVES. SORRY FOR DELAY.

QUOTE: 1. KEY POLICY ISSUES: IN SOUTHERN AFRICA
WE FACE INCREASING RACIAL TENSION AND VIOLENCE UNLESS PEACEFUL
TRANSITION TO FULL RECOGNITION OF BLACK RIGHTS ARE FOUND IN
RHODESIA, NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. BECAUSE OF SOUTH
AFRICA'S SUPPORT FOR THE SMITH REGIME IN RHODESIA, ITS
DE FACTO ADMINISTRATION IN NAMIBIA, AND THE INTER-RELATION-
SHIP BETWEEN THESE ROLES AND THE ADHERENCE TO APARTHEID AT
HOME, THE POLICIES OF THE VORSTER GOVERNMENT IN ALL THREE
AREAS INTER-RELATE AND GIVE A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL CHARACTER
TO ISSUES IN US-SA RELATIONS.

2. THE KEY ISSUES OVER THE NEXT TWO YEARS ARE:
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A) HOW TO PERSUADE SOUTH AFRICA TO USE ITS SUBSTANTIAL
INFLUENCE WITH THE SMITH REGIME IN RHODESIA TO GAIN
ITS ACCEPTANCE OF A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO BLACK
MAJORITY RULE WITH INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE;
B) HOW TO CONVINCE SOUTH AFRICA NOT TO ABANDON EFFORTS
TO ACHIEVE AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT IN
FAVOR OF AN INTERNAL SOLUTION IN NAMIBIA;

:) HOW TO ENCOURAGE THE SAG TO MOVE AWAY FROM APARTHEID AT HOME BY ELIMINATING INSTITUTIONALIZED RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND START DOWN THE PATH OF FULL PARTICIPATION FOR ALL POPULATION GROUPS IN THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE COUNTRY;
D) HOW TO PERSUADE THE SAG TO PLACE ITS POTENTIALLY LARGE NUCLEAR CAPACITY UNDER INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS AND ACCEPT NPT.

3. THE SOUTH AFRICAN PERCEPTION OF THESE ISSUES IS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM OUR OWN. WE SEE OUR APPROACH AS THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITYRULE IN WHICH THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES ARE ACKNOWLEDGED AND PROTECTED. IT IS ALSO THE SUREST WAY FOR ALL THREE COUNTRIES TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THIS IN TURN GIVES THE BEST ASSURANCE THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SURROGATES DO NOT TAKE ADVANTAGE OF RACIAL CONFLICT TO PURSUE THEIR OBJECTIVE IN AFRICA. THE AFRIKANER-DOMINATED SAG REGARDS OUR APPROACH IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AS SELF-DEFEATING AND DANGEROUS; I.E., IT WOULD ALLOW THE MORE RADICAL BLACK NATIONALISTS TO GAIN CONTROL OF THE NEW GOVERNMENTS. CONSEQUENTLY, ITS

COOPERATION IN WESTERN EFFORTS TO FIND NEGOTIABLE SETTLEMENTS HAS BEEN QUALIFIED. THE SAG STRATEGY HAS BEEN TO NEGOTIATE UP TO THE POINT WHERE IT CONSIDERED CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT THE WHITE GROUPS, WITH THE COOPERATION OF INTERNAL BLACK ELEMENTS, WOULD MAINTAIN POLITICAL CONTROL, BUT TO GO NO FURTHER. AT THE SAME TIME IT HAS SOUGHT TO DEMONSTRATE A "REASONABLENESS" THAT WOULD INHIBIT THE WESTERN COUNTRIES FROM GOING ALONG WITH SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA IN THE EVENT THAT EFFORTS TO FIND AN INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT ARE NOT SUCCESSFUL.

4. ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT THE SAG IS RESPONDING TO DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN PRESSURES WITH CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES TO BRING COLOREDS AND INDIANS INTO THE WHITE LAAGER AND TACTICAL MOVES TO REDUCE BLACK DISCONTENT; BUT IT HAS MADE CLEAR THAT THERE IS TO BE NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN GRAND APARTHEID AS FAR AS BLACKS ARE CONCERNED. IN AN EFFORT TO FORGE CLOSER LINKS BETWEEN AFRIKANERS AND ENGLISH THE GOVT HAS DELIBERATELY FOSTERED AN ANTI-AMERICAN CAMPAIGN ON THE THEORY THAT UNIT IS EASIEST ACHIEVED BY RAISING THE BANNER OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

5. ON THE NUCLEAR FRONT THE SAG HAS BEEN EVASIVE. IT HAS GIVEN PRIVATE ASSURANCES THAT ALL NUCLEAR ACTIVITY

WILL BE FOR PEACEFUL PRUPOSES BUT IT HAS
SO FAR NOT BEEN WILLING TO ACCEPT A SAFEGUARD REGIME FOR
ITS PROJECTED ENRICHMENT PLANT, TO SIGN NPT, OR TO
PROVIDE A SATISFACTORY EXPLANATION OF THE PURPOSE OF THE
KALAHARI TEST SITE. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THIS
AMBIVALENCE MASKS ULTERIOR MOTIVES OR REPRESENTS A MIS-
GUIDED EFFORT TO USE THE NUCLEAR QUESTION TO ENGAGE US
IN A DISCUSSION OF OVERALL PROBLEMS IN US-SA RELATIONS.

6. PROJECTED DEVELOPMENTS: DEVELOPMENTS IN RHODESIA,
NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA INTER-ACT IN WAYS IT IS HARD
TO FORESEE. THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT BEING PROMOTED BY
SMITH IN RHODESIA COULD, UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES,
BRING PEACE, BUT IT COULD ALSO RESULT IN ESCALATION OF
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THE FIGHTING WITH INCREASED SOVIET AND CUBAN
INVOLVEMENT. A PEACEFUL SOLUTION WOULD LESSEN THE
PRESSURES ON SOUTH AFRICA BUT THIS DOES NOT NECESSARILY
MEAN THAT VORSTER WOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE RESPITE
TO INTRODUCE FUNDAMENTAL REFORMS. INCREASED GUERRILLA
WARFARE IN RHODESIA COULD GREATLY COMPLICATE SOUTH AFRICA'S
EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL PROBLEMS. WE BELIEVE THAT VORSTER WILL
CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE SMITH IN THE PURSUIT OF AN INTERNAL
SETTLEMENT AND RESIST EFFORTS OF THE WEST TO GET
HIM TO USE HIS LEVERAGE TO MOVE SMITH TOWARD AN
INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION.

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7. LIKEWISE, IN THE CASE OF NAMIBIA, VORSTER'S DECISION WHETHER TO ACCEPT OR REJECT EFFORTS OF THE WESTERN POWERS TO WORK OUT AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION WILL HAVE AN IMPORTANT BEARING ON WHETHER THE FIGHTING WILL CONTINUE AND NEW PRESSURES FOR SANCTIONS DEVELOP. WE BELIEVE VORSTER WILL WORK WITH THE WEST UP TO THE POINT WHERE HE BELIEVES THAT FURTHER CONCESSIONS CONSTITUTE TOO GREAT A RISK FOR PRO-SOUTH AFRICAN GROUPS TO MAINTAIN CONTROL. IF MAKING CONCESSIONS UP TO THAT POINT DOES NOT BRING SWAPO INTO THE ARRANGEMENT, WE BELIEVE HE IS CAPABLE OF TAKING THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT ROUTE. IN DETERMINING THE BREAKING POINT, VORSTER WILL CAREFULLY CONSIDER WHETHER THE CONCESSIONS HE HAS MADE ARE SUFFICIENT TO INHIBIT THE WESTERN GOVTS FROM SUPPORTING SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

8. WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA THE NATURE AND RATE OF CHANGE WILL NOT ONLY BE AFFECTED BY THE INTERACTION OF EXTERNAL PRESSURES BUT ALSO BY OTHER UNKNOWN FACTORS; I.E., WORLD ECONOMIC TRENDS AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE ALREADY SERIOUSLY DEPRESSED SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY;
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SOVIET INTERVENTION AND ACTION IN AFRICA; POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, SUCH AS, BOTSWANA AND MOZAMBIQUE; AND PRESSURES BUILDING UP IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY WHICH, LIKE THE SOWETO RIOTS, MIGHT LEAD TO RENEWED VIOLENCE. THE CONSEQUENCES OF TACTICAL AND LIMITED REFORMS COULD ALSO BE UNPREDICTABLE. FOR EXAMPLE, CONCESSIONS IN CONSOLIDATION OF HOMELANDS AND AUTONOMY FOR URBAN BLACKS, ALTHOUGH RATIONALIZED AS PROMOTING SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT, COULD PRODUCE UNFORESEEN REACTIONS AMONG SUFFICIENT NUMBERS OF CONSERVATIVE AFRIKANERS TO CAUSE VORSTER TO PULL BACK. THIS COULD ADD TO BLACK FRUSTRATION AND UNREST. IF IMPLEMENTED, HOWEVER, AUTONOMY FOR URBAN BLACKS COULD PROVIDE NEW PLATFORMS FOR BLACK PRESSURES.

9. WHILE IT IS HAZARDOUS TO MAKE PREDICTIONS, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT OVER THE NEXT TWO TO THREE YEARS, AND POSSIBLY LONGER, THE SAG WILL BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES SUFFICIENTLY TO RETAIN CONTROL OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS, INCLUDING DECISIONS ON THE NATURE AND PACE OF CHANGES TO BE MADE. THE SAG WILL LIKELY CONTINUE TO DISPENSE REFORMS ON A TACTICAL BASIS

ATTEMPTING TO MAXIMIZE THEIR PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL IMPACT INTERNATIONALLY AND WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY WHILE MINIMIZING THE PRACTICAL EFFECT ON WHITE POWER AND PRIVILEGE AS WELL AS THE DEVISIVE IMPACT ON THE NATIONAL PARTY. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES DIALOGUE WITH GENUINE BLACK LEADERS SEEMS UNLIKELY.

10. COURSES OF ACTION: THE DECISIVE ELEMENTS FOR CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE (A) BLACK RESISTENCE IN ALL ITS FORMS AND (B) MEASURED PRESSURES FROM THE OUTSIDE. IN THE ABSENCE OF THESE ELEMENTS THERE IS NO MOTIVE FOR THE
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AFRIKANER TO CHANGE. THE LEADERSHIP, BEING ESSENTIALLY CONSERVATIVE AND TACTICAL IN ITS APPROACH TO PROBLEMS, IS NOT INCLINED TO GET TOO FAR AHEAD OF PUBLIC OPINION BUT WHEN IT WISHES TO INCH IT ALONG TO ACCEPT LIMITED CHANGE. THIS IS TRUE ON FOREIGN AS WELL AS DOMESTIC ISSUES.

11. THE SAG REGARDS THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AS IMPLACABLY HOSTILE TO THE WHITE MAN IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND INTENT ON BRINGING ABOUT BLACK MAJORITY RULE. PART OF THIS IS MISTAKEN PERCEPTION. THE REMAINDER A CALCULATED POLICY TO USE THE ALLEGED HOSTILITY OF THE WEST TO CONSOLIDATE THE WHITE LAAGER AND ATTRACT THE INDIANS AND COLOREDS WHO ALSO ARE CONCERNED OVER THE CONSEQUENCES OF BLACK DOMINATION. THIS ATTITUDE INFLUENCES THE SAG WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH WESTERN INITIATIVES ON RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, INTERNAL REFORM AND NUCLEAR COOPERATION. WHILE PRESERVATION OF THE PARAMOUNT POSITION OF THE AFRIKANER IN THE POWER STRUCTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA IS THE SAG'S ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE, IT IS SUFFICIENTLY PRAGMATIC NOT TO DEFEND THE STATUS QUO TO THE POINT OF SELF-DESTRUCTION. IT GIVES GROUND AS IT THINKS CIRCUMSTANCES REQUIRE BUT NOT BEFORE.

12. GIVEN THE FLUIDITY OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE SAG APPROACH, I PROPOSE WE FOLLOW THESE COURSES OF ACTION:

A) ON RHODESIA. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO KEEP VORSTER ABREAST OF OUR THINKING AND MINDFUL THAT HE HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO USE HIS SUBSTANTIAL EVERAGE WITH SMITH TO MOVE HIM IN THE DIRECTION OF AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. AS THE RHODESIAN SITUATION UNFOLDS WE SHOULD PRESSURE VORSTER AS NECESSARY TO USE THAT LEVERAGE IN SUPPORT OF SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL TRANSITION.
B) ON NAMIBIA MAINTAIN THE PRESSURE ON VORSTER TO WORK TOWARD AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION AND NOT
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VEER OFF INTO AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, AT LEAST AS LONG AS HE HAS NOT ACCEPTED THE WESTERN PROPOSALS AND SWAPO REJECTED THEM.

C) ON NUCLEAR COOPERATION CONTINUE TO HOLD THE DOOR OPEN PROVIDED THE SAG ACCEPTS SAFEGUARDS FOR ITS ENRICHMENT PLANT AND AGREES TO JOIN NPT. IN PURSUIT OF THIS OBJECTIVE I WOULD FAVOR GIVING VORSTER CAREFULLY STRUCTURED CARROTS AS INDUCEMENTS TO FULL SAFEGUARD AND NON-PROLIFERATION COOPERATION.

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D) ON INTERNAL REFORM WE SHOULD ADHERE TO THE POLICY PRESENTED TO VORSTER AT VIENNA. SHOULD THERE BE MEANINGFUL CHANGES AWAY FROM APARTHEID WE SHOULD BE READY TO RECOGNIZE THESE. WHERE THEY ARE NOT FORTHCOMING, AS HAS BEEN THE CASE SO FAR, WE SHOULD PERIODICALLY CONSIDER TAKING MEASURED ACTION DESIGNED TO DISASSOCIATE OURSELVES FROM A REGIME FOLLOWING POLICIES WE CANNOT ACCEPT. AT THE SAME TIME THESE ACTIONS WOULD SERVE TO INCREASE THE PRESSURES. WHILE DOING THIS WE SHOULD MAINTAIN THE FOLLOWING PROGRAMS UNDERSCORING OUR CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERNAL PROBLEMS:

-- WIDEST POSSIBLE CONTACTS WITH ALL SEGMENTS OF
AFRIKANERDOM, GIVING PARTICULAR ENCOURAGEMENT TO
VERLIGHTE ELEMENTS WORKING FOR MEANINGFUL CHANGE.
-- BROAD RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE NON-WHITE POPULATION
GROUPS TO DEMONSTRATE OUR INTEREST AND SUPPORT FOR THEIR
ASPIRATIONS.
-- GRADUAL EXPANSION OF OUR EXCHANGE AND TRAINING
PROGRAMS WHICH WILL EXPOSE PRESENT AND EMERGING AFRIKANER
LEADERS TO THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE AND GIVE US THE
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OPPORTUNITY TO TRAIN BLACKS IN PARTICULAR IN A SELECTIVE
RANGE OF SKILLS DESIGNED TO BUILD LEADERSHIP FOR
THE FUTURE.
-- AN ACTIVE INFORMATION AND CULTURAL PROGRAM TARGETTED TO
ALL POPULATION GROUPS TO COUNTER THE SAG'S ANTI-AMERICAN
PROPAGANDA AND PLACE OUR POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA IN
ITS TRUE PERSPECTIVE.

13. OUTLOOK FOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS: THE OUTLOOK IS NOT ONE
WHICH INSPIRES OPTIMISM. NEITHER IS IT HOPELESS. VORSTER
IS LIKELY TO REMAIN AT THE HELM DURING THE PERIOD UNDER
REVIEW AND THE SAG STRATEGY OF COMBINING CONCESSION WITH
COERCION IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE. VORSTER NOT BEING A MAN WHO
THINKS IN CONCEPTUAL TERMS OR SEEKS LONG TERM SOLUTIONS,
THERE IS NOT LIKELY TO BE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE UNTIL
HE STEPS DOWN. THE BEST WE CAN HOPE FOR IS A GRADUAL
MOVEMENT IN THE DIRECTION OF REFORM WHICH BUILDS ON
PROGRESSIVE ACCLIMATIZATION TO CHANGE. A SOLUTION IN
NAMIBIA IS POSSIBLE ALTHOUGH FAR FROM CERTAIN.
SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN EDGING THE TWO SIDES
TOWARD AN AGREEMENT BUT IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES REMAIN.
IN RHODESIA SMITH'S INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IS FRAGILE AND
COULD AS EASILY LEAD TO AN ESCALATION OF THE GUERRILLA
WAR WITH ACRIMONY TOWARD THE UK AND US BY THE FRONT
LINE STATES AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AS TO GRADUAL
ACCEPTANCE AND A DECREASE OF VIOLENCE. IN AN EFFORT TO
AVOID GRATER ISOLATION FROM THE WEST WE CAN EXPECT
LIMITED MOVES ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT. THE LEADERSHIP
SEEMS TO RECOGNIZE THAT IF THEY ARE TO GAIN TIME WITH
WHICH TO IMPLEMENT SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT, THEY MUST COUNTER
BALANCE REPRESSION TO SILENCE BLACK LEADERS WITH
REMOVAL OF SOME OF THE HUMILIATIONS OF THE PAST AND A FEW
REFORMS THAT WILL RENDER THE SYSTEM MORE PALATABLE.
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THE NEW PROPOSED CONSTITUTION IS AN EFFORT TO COOPT COLOREDS AND INDIANS WHILE RETAINING WHITE CONTROL AND THE ESSENTIALS OF SEPARATENESS. REJECTION OF THE INITIAL GOVT PROPOSALS BY THE TWO COMMUNITIES HAS FORCED VORSTER TO RECONSIDER THE APPROACH THIS TIME IN CONSULTATION WITH INDIANS AND COLORED LEADERS. MEANWHILE, VARIOUS COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES ARE CURRENTLY STUDYING REFORMS REGARDING LOCAL POLITICAL AUTONOMY FOR BLACK TOWNSHIPS, IMPROVEMENT IN BLACK EDUCATION, MOVES TO MAKE HOMELANDS MORE VIABLE AND STEPS TO REDUCE DISCRIMINATION IN THE LABOR FIELD. IN ADDITION, THERE IS AN APPARENT RECOGNITION THAT STABILITY WILL ALSO DEPEND ON IMPROVEMENT IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE URBAN BLACK. FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE DEFENSE FORCES, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO INTEGRATION OF COLOREDS AND INDIANS COULD HAVE A LEAVENING EFFECT ON RACE RELATIONS. FINALLY, NEW STEPS WILL PROBABLY BE FORTHCOMING TO AMELIORATE THE WEB OF SEGREGATION PRACTICES COMMONLY KNOWN AS PETTY APARTHEID.

14. WE NEED TO KEEP IN MIND THAT BPROGRESS IS LIKELY TO BE LIMITED AND HALTING RATHER THAN DRAMATIC. RESULTS ARE MORE PROBABLE OVER THE LONGER HAUL THAN THE SHORT. WE NEED TO GEAR EXPECTATIONS AND ACTIONS WITH THIS IN MIND. THE WEST SHOULD EXERT STEADY, MEASURED PRESSURE IN ORDER TO MAXIMIZE RESULTS. THE MAJOR FACTOR FOR CHANGE WILL REMAIN THE EXTENT TO WHICH SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS ARE ABLE AND WILLING TO MOBILIZE TO DEMAND THEIR RIGHTS. OUTSIDE PRESSURE WILL BE COMPLEMENTARY AND THEREFORE SHOULD BE PHASED TO RENDER GREATEST SUPPORT. BOWDLER

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